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TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR,—Having, in my last letter (Vol. II. p. 745), shown, that the mere circumstance of not having been in office (even supposing you fit for office) and of not having received a title, is, in itself, no proof, nor even presumption, in favour of that "*honesty*," that "*uprightness*," those "*pure intentions*," or that wonderful "*disinterestedness*," of which you make so ostentatious a display, and of which a stranger to English patriotism would really think you to be the exclusive possessor; having shown, that, even from your own declarations, it is evident, that the principal object of your ambition, is, to preserve your seat for the county of York, to continue to be the representative of "*a little kingdom*;" having, as I think, established these points, it remains for me to inquire, whether the *means*, by which you have hitherto secured this object, have not, through the weakness and credulity of others, largely contributed towards the adoption of those measures, which, in their several ways and degrees, have finally produced our present embarrassment and disgrace.

In this inquiry, it is not my intention to follow you through all the little windings and turnings of your political life, to hunt out those temporary errors and follies, of which, probably, you have long ago repented; but, to confine myself to the principal of those public subjects, in which I recollect you to have acted a conspicuous part, and with respect to which you have persevered, in opposition to the dictates of reason, of experience, and of public good. These subjects are: 1. Parliamentary Reform; 2. The Persecution of Mr. Reeves; 3. The Slave Trade; 4. The Projects respecting Tithes, &c. 5. The Regicide Peace; 6. Continental Connexions. On all these most momentous questions, either your influence prevailed over Mr. Pitt, or Mr. Pitt, unfortunately for him and for his country, happened to agree with you in opinion; and, I think, it must now evidently appear, that, though you greatly assisted him in breaking down, or rather in undermining the high, the anti-commercial, the anti-financial spirit of the country, he has, at last, paid most dearly for that assistance.

1. With *Parliamentary Reform* upon your lips you came into public life. At an age hardly ripe enough for the management of any considerable private concern; with not a single grain of experience in public affairs; with very little knowledge of men, and none of nations; with talents, which, in spite of twenty years cultivation, still remain far, very far indeed, beneath mediocrity; with an inordinate thirst for sway, and with an abundant stock of that presumption of which a conceit of *extraordinary purity* is at once the cause and the effect: thus equipped, you, all at once, started forth, a puritan in religion and in law, a *reformer* of the church and the parliament.—Of the clamours for parliamentary reform, first begun by you and your associates, how numerous and how great have been the evils! No small portion of all the discontents and dangers, which have existed, and which, in some degree, do still exist, both in England and Ireland, arose from the doctrines inculcated by the parliamentary reformers, whose wild notions, whose incoherent plans, and whose nonsensical phrases even, were adopted by all those seditious and treasonable combinations, which, at one time, threatened the existence of the monarchy, and which were not suppressed, without measures, the necessity of which every friend of true freedom must have lamented and must still lament. That the success of the rebels in France operated as a powerful *encouragement* to those of this country there can be no doubt; without the heart-cheering example of the former, it is probable, indeed, that the latter would never have attempted to form a "British Convention;" but, without the pretext, furnished by the parliamentary reformers, by you and your coadjutors, by the Wyvills, the Beaufoys, and the rest of those, who, under the garb of meekness, aspired to controul, and who actually did controul and overpower, the mind of Mr. Pitt, without that pretext there would have been no assemblies of delegates, none of those affiliated societies, out of which the justly dreaded British convention arose. To

you and your associates of 1782 and 1785 we trace not only the *pretext*, generally, of the corresponding societies, the societies of United Irishmen, &c. &c. but also the leading *principles*, upon which these societies proceeded, and even the precedent, as to *manner* and *form*, by which they were organized and in which their seditious efforts were conducted. That the "well-meaning "men" of 1782 and 1785, did not wish to destroy both king and parliament, I am ready to allow; but, that they did, by their "Quintuple alliance," by their "Con-"vention of Delegates," by their resolutions to obtain the sense of the people "in their "different parishes or smaller districts," by their repeated inflammatory declarations and addresses; that the "*safe* politicians" did, by these means, chalk out the plan, and even lay the foundation, of that "monument of human wisdom," which the British convention were about to raise, is a fact, the truth of which, I am certain, no man of sincerity will attempt to deny. But, indeed, this point has been judicially decided. Horne Tooke, who was prosecuted for *high treason*, rested his defence, principally, upon the fact, that the Society, of which he was accused of being the leader, had in view, *no other object, than that which had been pursued by you and your coadjutors*; the judge, in summing up the evidence, after a six days' trial, declared, *that the contrary had not been made out*. Lord Chief Justice Eyre, after stating that the London Corresponding Society was instituted in 1792, professedly *for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform*, on the plan of the reformers of 1782 and 1785, proceeds thus:—"I think the "evidence is so; and, though a great deal "of violence very soon followed, which "might have led me to *question* the truth of "their original principles, yet I think it "ought to be taken, *that that Society was* "*instituted upon those principles*; unless one "could have distinctly seen, in the evi-"dence, to the very bottom of the foun-"dation of that Society, and seen that it "was formed for the purpose of acting "under a secret influence and direction to "some other end, using a Reform of Par-"liament as a colour only. I think there "was some attempt to make this out; but "it seems to me, *that they did not go far* "*enough to maintain that proposition.*" As soon as the judge had closed, the jury acquitted the prisoner.—Here, then, Sir, we have a complete commentary on your wisdom as a reformer of the state. It can hardly be supposed, that his Majesty's Cabinet, aided by the advice of the Lord Chancellor and the other law officers of the crown, would have instituted the prosecution against Tooke, had they not been fully satisfied as to the nature of the crime laid to his charge; and, if you admit this, which you will scarcely refuse to do, the obvious conclusion is, that the principles, broached and promulgated by you and your coadjutors, were such as led to the commission of high treason, such as led to the most heinous of all earthly offences, *the compassing of the death of the King!* It is in vain to say, that Tooke and his associates had objects in view which you never thought of; for, though that might be, yet it appeared, to a judge and jury, after one of the most patient trials upon record, that their Society was *instituted upon your principles*, and the indictment will prove, that the *institution* of their Society made part of the crime alleged against them.—If the evil consequences of your wild and presumptuous projects had extended no further than the imprisonment, the transportation, or the death, of a few individuals, there would, even in that case, have been a loud call on you for repentance and for an open and explicit avowal thereof, which appears to me to be the least atonement with which the nation ought to have been satisfied at your hands; but, Sir, the records of our righteous and merciful courts exhibit merely the symptoms of those consequences, which, to be duly appreciated, must be sought for in the alarms in England and Scotland, in the rebellion in Ireland, in the mutiny in the fleet, and in all the concomitant effects, domestic and foreign, of these ever to be lamented events. No one, who has paid the least attention to the embarrassments created by the war, need be told, that the far greater part of them arose from causes purely internal. The discontents in Ireland, which at last ended in an open and sanguinary rebellion, were instigated by societies formed on the pretext of Parliamentary Reform, Those discontents, together with the well-founded alarm, arising from the same source, existing in England and Scotland, hung, during the greater part of the war, like a mill-stone about the neck of our government, cramped all our operations, excited confidence in our enemies, and distrust in our allies. You, Sir, who are of the school of the economists, and who are, on all occasions, so anxious to show your attention to the pecuniary interests of your "little kingdom" of constituents; you, who so deeply deplore the "pressure" on the people, may, out of your tender regard

for them, have possibly been led to ascertain the probable extent of the expense occasioned by those internal troubles, which arose from the combinations grounded on your project of reform, and which expense will not, I imagine, be found to amount to less than *fifty of those millions*, which, since the year 1792, have been added to the burdens of the nation. Indeed, if we include the expenses of the numerous armed associations, called forth by these domestic dangers, the loss of labour occasioned thereby, and the emigration of artisans from his Majesty's dominions, owing to the same cause, not five times fifty millions would repair the national injury, which has arisen from an attempt to carry your principles of *reform* to their full and natural result. And, shall we, Sir, after this, silently admit your almost exclusive claim to public *œconomy* and political *prudence?* Shall we tamely hear you repeat your insinuations of *indiscretion* and *madness* against those, who wish to rouze the nation to a sense of that danger, into which you and your *prudent* associates have plunged it, but who never, like you, were so indiscreet or so mad as, by their conduct, to furnish a justification for persons accused of high treason? Shall we, after this, submit to the unbearable insult of being told, that you and your associates are the only *prudent* men, the only "*safe* politicians?" * * * * * * Want of room compels me to postpone the other points 'till another opportunity.—I am, in the mean time, your's, &c. &c.

London, 12*th Jan.* 1802. W. COBBETT.

ON THE NAVY BILL.

SIR,—At a time when the greatest caution ought to be observed in the conducting of public affairs, both with respect to œconomy and legality, this bill sets both at nought. The Lords of the Admiralty, and the Commissioners of the Navy have full and exclusive powers to enquire into and remedy any and every abuse that does exist in the dock-yards. During a war, in which the unexampled exertions of the country equipped a navy unheard of in former times, consisting of upwards of 600 ships in commission, the admiralty departments under the late administration, clogged as they were by the two mutinies, and other circumstances of great and peculiar difficulty, were conducted in a manner that reflects the highest honour on them. There were no complaints on the parts of the commissioners of their inability to do their duty, on account of their multifarious occupations. It was reserved for the present period of peace, with a navy diminished by more than an half, and with a proportionate decrease of business in the naval departments, that we were to hear that the boards of Admiralty and navy were inadequate from their great press of business, to enter into the examination of frauds committed in their particular departments, of which they only are the proper and immediate judges, and to correct which, is one of the peculiar and important ends of their appointment. In a legal point of view the bill is equally objectionable. Our best and most constitutional lawyers have ever deprecated the extension and increase of oaths in all legal proceedings, as being very injurious in a moral point of view, and tending to familiarize men to an appeal, which only ought to be resorted to in the most solemn and important occasions. Hence one great objection to the excise laws, customs, &c. But this bill proceeds further, it gives power to certain commissioners to tender oaths to the party accused, in order to convict themselves, in direct opposition to the well known adage of common law, *nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*. Some years ago three commissioners were appointed to audit the public accounts, to enquire into all abuses, to represent them, and point out such remedies as should appear to them best adapted for the purpose; they accordingly visited the several dock-yards, and amongst the rest Portsmouth, where they staid nearly two months, made the strictest and most minute enquiries into every thing concerning them, examined every person in and out of them that could furnish them with any information, inspected every document, paper, book, and account that could throw any light on a subject so interesting to the public as the administration of the dock-yards. Every abuse existed then that exists now, no alteration or check whatever having been interposed to restrain them, and the commissioners having made their report, the matter has laid dormant from that time, (which was previously to the year 1790 to the present,) except indeed, that two more commissioners have been added to the three, making the number of such commissioners for auditing and examining the public accounts, five. The Admiralty Board consists of 7 commissioners, the Navy Board of a comptroller, deputy comptroller, two surveyors, and six commissioners in London, and four resident commissioners at the four principal dock-yards, making 21 commissioners for conducting this branch of the public service, certainly of the greatest con-

cern and last importance. Amongst these are many individuals who have risen to their present eminence through a gradation of office, commencing in the lowest scale of rank, even as low as apprentice to a shipwright. In consequence they are most fully acquainted with every minute circumstance of the dock-yards and their administration, and were thereby the most proper persons to examine into the abuses practised in them, and to prescribe the remedies. The four resident commissioners at the four principal dock-yards are old experienced officers in the navy, and have hitherto been recommended to this distinguished situation from the port list, on account of their knowledge, talents, and services. Now, if instead of creating new officers unacquainted in the smallest degree with the minutiæ and intricacies, as well as the more important branches of the naval department, and burthening the public with a new charge, at a time when the most rigorous œconomy is, on account of our necessary pressures, become so indispensably requisite, one commissioner was to be detached from the Admiralty Board, another, or even two from the Navy Board, and they were to be associated at each dock-yard with the resident commissioners, and aided by former enquiries, they would seriously set to work to ascertain the existing abuses, and adopt remedies to them, the whole business would be readily completed, and without a single addition of expense to the country. If they in the course of their investigation found any difficulty in examining witnesses out of the dock-yards, it would be easy enough then to devise some compulsory measure, without having immediate recourse to the present project, so unconstitutional in a legal, and dangerous in a moral point of view. As to the persons employed in the dock-yards, they will be ready enough to take any oath tendered to them, as their refusal would subject them to dismissal, and their perjury to an indictment. The abuses practised in the dock-yards have been a subject of just complaint for many years past; they are carried on to an extent almost incredible, and to a calculated amount of £500,000 annually. But will the present proposed bill remedy them? Will the appointment of men, in consequence of parliamentary interest, or the *ipse dixit* of the First Lord of the Admiralty, be a likely means of eradicating the evils complained of? If twenty-one commissioners perfectly acquainted with every abuse, and well versed and exercised in the whole management of the dock-yards, are incompetent to the eradicating of the existing frauds, how can a set of men appointed *de novo* from the predominant interest of the hour be *eo instanti* sufficiently experienced in affairs of such great and intricate complexity, and combining infinite details to new model, improve and put them on such a basis as shall, for the future, shut out the avenue to peculation, fraud and abuse. Whoever is acquainted with the dock-yards, or their administration, must know that the present measure is a most despicable job, calculated to serve only ministerial and interested purposes, to extend the already overgrown patronage of the First Commissioner of the Admiralty, to feed his numerous and insatiate expectants, and to create an establishment with powers and objects extraordinary and undefined, and nugatory, as to any good effects that can result from it. A too great readiness to depart from established usages seems to be the prevalent desire of the present day. The most wholesome laws, combining the most salutary checks to dishonesty, peculation and abuses, which exist in full force at the present moment, and which require only common attention and industry to be understood and put in practice, are hastily abandoned for new plans, and to serve and extend new interests, and to create new offices, various and complicated, which instead of clearing the way to discovery, punishment and remedy, make it only more crooked and intricate. The dock-yards have severely felt this innovating mania. New order has hastily succeeded new order. To an order to-day, to-morrow a countermand; to-day Mr. Bentham is particularly marked out for exclusion; to-morrow paraded through every storehouse; to-day the labour is done by men and horses; to-morrow the yard is converted into a storehouse of machinery. The reservoir in Portsmouth dock-yard is worked by horses to-day, to-morrow by a steam engine, the day after by men. The introduction of new plans has introduced new interests, and the dock-yards have presented scenes of faction and intrigue, which have been carried to an unparalleled height, insomuch, that the resident commissioner has frequently found himself a mere cypher, wherein formerly his word was law, and has been subjected to the disgraceful measure of restoring those men to their former situations which they had been discharged from, for mal-practices and misconduct, according to the domineering interest and successful faction of the day. Nay, the Admiralty Board frequently interfere in no-

minating to the very lowest situations, in opposition to the personal recommendation of the resident commissioner, who is frequently constrained to enter persons, whom he has great cause to distrust, in the point of honesty, sobriety, and proper principles. Moreover, may not the Ordnance, the Victualling, and other departments (in which, undoubtedly, many abuses prevail) after the present example, so eminent in idleness and disinclination to business, may not they come forward and propose similar measures in their boards? If the First Commissioner of the Admiralty shall successfully procure such a great extension of his interest and patronage, will it not be a precedent for a master-general of the Ordnance or the ruling party of the day, to follow the present example, at once so gratifying to ministerial influence and desirable to needy followers. When the very few hours of attendance, by the commissioners at the publick boards to ordinary business, is considered, we may, and we have a right to insist on a longer attendance to correct, and a more intelligent industry to remedy any abuses which have arisen or crept into any department of the state, perhaps originating, at least in part, from that very sluggish and slender attendance and application. The Commissioners of the Navy, till this war, managed the Transport Service also, for which, on their own representation, they obtained an increase of salary to the amount of £200 per annum. This branch of service has been transferred to a separate board, but the increase of salary has not been transferred with it; on the contrary, the combined salary of £800 per annum has been still further increased to £1000 in lieu of some fees which they lost, in consequence of the removal of this very branch of business. From all which premises the following deductions may be made.—That the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy are fully competent to enquire into, ascertain, and remedy all the existing evils and abuses in the dock-yards, over which they have a full, complete and entire jurisdiction.—That the laws at present in force, are fully adequate to the punishment and correction of every fraud, peculation, and mal-practice in the naval departments.—That those laws only require attention to discover, industry to prosecute, and the exertion of the powers they confer, to enable the Admiralty and Navy Boards of themselves to reform all existing abuses, and to punish their perpetrators.—That this can and ought to be speedily done, without charging the public with one additional farthing of expense, and without neglecting in the smallest degree the accustomed routine of public business now in this time of peace. Upon comparing which with the war establishment, the manner of its being conducted, and the numbers to conduct it, we may reasonably conclude the Navy and Admiralty Boards to have entire and full leisure to turn their whole thoughts. Time and attention to the investigating abuses, which have, it is to be feared, originated from causes more or less connected with negligence, inattention, and want of constant and regular investigation.—At all events, it is the indispensible duty of the House of Commons, as stewards of the public purse, to guard with unceasing vigilance any attempt, however specious, or from whatever quarter originating, that shall in its consequences add to the pecuniary pressures, already so very great, without being certified beyond all doubt. That the public affairs in the above-mentioned boards, on account of the great press of business under their management, have not time to give the subject the important consideration it so loudly calls for; and at the same time to inspect with a laudable suspicion and jealous circumspection a measure which more than carries with it a desire of certain officers to shift a burthen from themselves, so peculiarly their own, to the shoulders of others not so able to bear it, at the expense of the public, and to the extension of a patronage already too great. But above all to resist with manly firmness and indignation any attempt, under whatever mark presented, that shall in any the remotest degree infringe on the undoubted privileges and dearest rights of the subject, recognized by the common law of the land, and secured by our envied and invaluable constitution. R. B.

December 17, 1802.

This was written some days ago as will appear by the date, and long before the bill was passed; but finding you have taken up the subject in Saturday's Register, has induced me to make some additional observations.—It requires no very extraordinary powers to discover abuses in the dock-yards, they are pretty plain and visible. That the public has been most grossly imposed on in the article of hemp cannot be doubted, as the ample fortunes of more than one individual testify. But while a pompous display of acute investigation is shown in the overcharge of the article of casks used in the rope houses, to the amount of a few hundred pounds, and to which every clerk

in the rope-yard must have been privy, frauds to an amount almost incredible are suffered to go unpunished, and the guilty plunderer lives in a state of splendour, which at once proclaims his dishonour, and the shameful negligence of those men in office, by which he escapes with impunity. Much has been said about the purity and disinterestedness of the present Admiralty. Does the following circumstance evince it? The porter of the dock-yard at Portsmouth was allowed £30 per annum, a house to live in, and also a chaise or coach-house for his carriage and stable for his horses. At first sight it must appear singular, that a porter, whose business there is literally to attend at the gates, and most minutely to inspect every ingress and regress, should have a coach-house and stable to keep his carriage and horses, and that too upon £30 a year; but he had the profits of the yard tap, where beer is sold to the workmen. These profits have been estimated to amount to from £600 to 700 per annum. This place had generally been given to some messenger or very inferior person in the Admiralty service. In consequence, however, of some great interest made for this situation on the last vacancy, the First Lord of the Admiralty inquired into these circumstances, and very wisely conceiving that two creatures are better than one, he appointed two porters to divide the profits, who will have two houses, two chaise houses, and two stables, where there was one only before. This is one proof amongst many others of their great attention to economy and laudable zeal in eradicating abuses. So much for the porter. As he is the lowest in the scale, we will go up to the highest, viz. the resident commissioner. It had been for many years a part of his duty to pay ships, for which he was allowed 40s. per day *when employed*, which formed a part of his income; but the Admiralty have taken away this branch of his employ, and employed a second port admiral on *constant pay* at a very great increase of expense to pay the ships, and, in consideration of the commissioner's losing these emoluments, his salary has been increased very considerably. The present comptroller of the navy was offered a pension equal to his emoluments if he would resign his situation in favour of a present Lord of the Admiralty, so likewise was a resident commissioner if he would do the same in favour of another lord of the same board. This is that Admiralty which is above all ideas of favouritism, and which in its outrageously virtuous endeavours to reform abuses in its own department would have laid the axe to the very root of constitutional liberty solemnly guaranteed to the subject by the coronation oath.

January 3, 1803.

MR. ADDINGTON'S MODEST ASSURANCE.

SIR,—The MODESTY of your *conscientious, well-meaning man*, is strikingly exemplified in Mr. Addington's speeches on the address. It were to be wished for the nation that the ministers were men of abilities: it were desirable for their supporters that they had even the reputation of talents: let them be discreet if they cannot be wise: at least it does not become them to make a display of their deficiencies or to seize on every opportunity for demonstrating their incapacity.—This reflection suggests itself upon reading the reports of Mr. Addington's speeches on the address as they appear in the public papers.—One would imagine that any sensible minister, however desirous to uphold the peace of Amiens, would at least use cautious and moderate language under the circumstances in which the nation is at present placed, so evidently critical, so confessedly embarrassing. But such is the frame of Mr. Addington's mind and intellect that he views it with delight and triumph, and when reminded of the calamities it has produced, he cannot refrain from exultation.—" If, says he, I am a de-
" linquent, I confess I am a hardened one:
" for I do declare that I never reflect on
" the share I had in restoring peace to my
" country, but with the most heartfelt sa-
" tisfaction."—Yet in the midst of this triumphant boast he immediately reverses the scene, and declares that all Europe is in a situation which no man *laments* so much as himself—and then forgetting every idea of peace, he boasts of our state of preparation for war, and takes the utmost credit to his administration for having kept up a navy and army double, both in force and expense, to which was maintained after the peace of 1783.—Some persons may doubt as to the common honesty of this harangue, but I think no man can doubt as to the common sense of it—How this triumph mixed with lamentation, this peace accompanied with a preparation for war, this continued system of war expense and doubled establishment can give the most heartfelt satisfaction, vulgar men may find difficult to reconcile, and we must leave to Mr. Addington himself to explain.—Let us then hear him again: thus the great man proceeds.—" Nay I do not scruple to add,

" that even if encroachments or insults of-
" fered to the country should again lead to
" hostilities that still that calamity will not
" destroy *that* satisfaction, for I should
" know I had done my duty, and that I
" had no cause to reproach myself with
" subsequent events."—Such is Mr. Addington's explanation and defence of the perfect heartfelt satisfaction which he feels at the peace: and whatever I may think of it in other respects, I must confess it to be truly astonishing! Happy, happy man!—If a new war follow upon the heels of his peace, if ruin and destruction flow from it—it is nothing to him, he has done his duty—he is not responsible for future events: no calamity, no misery can ever shake his firm-set happiness, or impair for a moment that perpetual and heartfelt satisfaction which he must ever feel from having directed the signature of the treaty of Amiens!—The above passage I have quoted is certainly the climax and *acmé* of Mr. Addington's eloquence; no other orator ever ventured a flight in any degree so daring, nor can he himself boast any other passage equally transcendent.—Yet I cannot help adverting to some few other parts of his oration, which, though not extraordinary for him, would highly surprize from any other speaker. Mr. Addington pleads in favour of his peace " that not being able to a-
" bridge the power of France on the Con-
" tinent, it was wise to economise our
" means and husband our resources, in order
" that if again we should be unhappily
" called upon, we might be either able to
" co-operate with effect with the continental
" powers, or furnish the means by which
" they might be called into vigorous ac-
" tion."—Who would not think from this passage that we were now in a state of profound peace and complete security? That we and our enemy were entirely disarmed? That Europe was in a state of independence and tranquillity, and that we were reducing our establishments to the situation they were in before the war, and introducing the most vigorous systems of retrenchment into every part of our service. Yet our real state is the diametrical reverse. And whilst Mr. Addington is framing this curious argument, the funds are sinking under a loan of £25,000,000 made to secure the first year of his blessed peace. The people are called upon to submit to fresh burthens for the second year, and he himself takes credit for not having disbanded a single soldier he could avoid; for having at present a greater force than at several periods during the war, and for keeping up an establishment double in amount both for land and sea, to what was maintained after the disastrous peace of 1783.—Another source of consolation and satisfaction to him is, that having made the peace of Amiens we can never again *singly* contend against France, and that we must wait to assist a confederacy of continental powers with arms and subsidies.—Who, then, upon hearing this line of policy adopted by the minister would not conceive that in his arrangement of peace, he had not only secured our old allies, but made an augmentation to their number? On the contrary, he has the heartfelt satisfaction to reflect that of those powers who are able, none are willing, of those who are willing, none are left able, to confederate with and to assist us. Yet to these alone are we to trust; for he says, Gt. Britain cannot venture to go to war by herself.—To give the last stroke and entire finishing to all this display of political and diplomatic talent, and to exalt his triumph in the peace to the utmost, he boldly, and I will add here at least *truly*, asserts that the peace was in no degree a peace of necessity, and that we are now able to continue a war for seven years without exhausting our resources.—Such is the argument of the prime minister of the British Empire, the great mover and director of all our affairs, on whose foresight, abilities, sagacity, and firmness, the nation is to depend at this awful period.—He states that we were not under the least necessity to make peace:—That we have full resources for a continuance of war for seven years.—In other places he states our numerous and unexampled triumphs and our naval superiority in every part of the globe:—Yet in this proud situation he makes a degrading peace with France; and, because he could not abridge her continental empire, he transfers to her our marine dominion, and concedes the greatest naval and colonial stations on the globe,—Martinique, St. Lucie, St. Domingo, Cochin, the Cape, and the Mediterranean.—During the negotiation, he suffers the Italian Republic to be added to France, and admits her obtaining Elba, Louisiana, and Parma by fraud; and after the peace he acquiesces in the annexation of Piedmont, the revolution of Germany, and the invasion of Switzerland, and thus sanctions and confirms the most complicated and insulting mass of treachery, fraud, oppression, insult, aggression, and encroachment, that ever was displayed upon the globe.—This miserable

state to which he has reduced Europe and ourselves is so glaring, that with all his insensibility he is forced to lament it most deeply; it is on the other hand so dangerous, that he cannot discharge a soldier, that he is proud to double all our establishments, to call for additional burthens on the people, while he has rendered us so weak, that we cannot go to war without allies, and his peace has destroyed all our alliances.—Thus in this wretched, and deserted state, when we have no friends on the continent, and cannot fight singly, when France is encroaching daily, and we dare not interfere in her career—what are his thoughts?—He looks back with complacency to the cause of all—he has done his duty—he cannot reproach himself with subsequent events—he glories in being a hardened delinquent—and shall even reflect on the share he had in restoring peace to his country with the most heartfelt satisfaction.—To a character capable of conceiving and advancing such a tissue of inconsistency, absurdity, and weakness, are the fate and fortune of the empire committed in the most tremendous crisis the world ever experienced. What, in the name of God, are we to expect from a man who cannot utter common sense with ordinary reasoning and consistency for the space of *a few minutes?* and who crowds into a short harangue more real folly and contradiction than ever disgraced the exercise of a school-boy.—I will acknowledge, however, there is one man in this kingdom, a new friend and supporter of Mr. Addington's administration, who could have held such sentiments without the same inconsistency and absurdity—I speak of Mr. Fox.—He rejoiced like Mr. Addington, that the peace of Amiens was glorious; but that it was glorious, not to England but to France. Mr. Fox is a man of superior abilities and sagacity, he knew the nature of the peace, he clearly saw its tendency to depress his country and to aggrandise our enemy, and he rejoiced in it. Would to God Mr. Addington were, for a moment, gifted with similar abilities to those of Mr. Fox, while he retained his love for his country: he would then see the true tendency of his measures as clearly as Mr. Fox; and, seeking the glory of England, not the glory of France, he would lament, in sackcloth and ashes, the fatal moment, when he ordered the preliminaries to be signed; he would retire from a situation to which he is confessedly inadequate; he would be cautious in adopting the measures of those who palliate the fraud, the treachery, the aggressions of France, rejoicing in an infamous peace, because it gives triumph to the enemy; and he would advise his sovereign to take those men to his counsels who are as distinguished in true zeal for their country as they are beyond all comparison the fittest from their experience and talents to conduct her affairs.—But whilst we suffer ourselves to be directed by such abilities as those of Mr. Addington, and by such principles as those of Mr. Fox; while guided by the heart of the one and the head of the other, the man who gloried in the success of France, the man who is blind to the degradation of England; as there can be no hope, there can be no consolation: ulterior and increasing distress is all we can expect—a perpetual foreboding of fresh humiliation—a fearful looking on of coming destruction. DETECTOR.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1. *The Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, in the Committee of Ways and Means, on Friday, Dec.* 10, 1802. *Hatchard.*—We think it proper to apprize our readers that the pamphlet, bearing the above title, which has been advertised with so much ostentation, is nothing more than the very accurate report of the minister's budget-speech, which will be found in page 778 of our second volume. For what purpose this speech, which occupies *two pages and a quarter* of our Register, should be swelled into a twelvepenny pamphlet of *thirty-eight* octavo pages, we are at a loss to conjecture. In the speech of a minister of state, ushered into the world with such pomp and solemnity, one is naturally prepared to find a mass of of political, commercial, and financial information.—But no!—*Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus.*

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Convention concluded between Prussia and the Batavian Republic, in November, 1802.

Be it known to all whom it may concern, That his Prussian Majesty being firmly resolved to observe and scrupulously to fulfil the stipulations agreed upon, in favour of the Batavian Repub. in the Convention signed at Paris the 23d May, between his Prussian Majesty and the French Repub. respecting the cession of the territorial property hereafter pointed out; and, being desirous to proceed to the preliminary and complete execution of the first treaty which is the basis of it, the two powers have agreed previously to regulate by an arrangement the mode and the conditions of that cession; and in that view they have authorized, viz. his Majesty of Prussia, Mr. C. H. C. Count Haugwitz, his Minister of State, &c. &c.; and the Batavian Repub. Citizen C. G. Hultman, her Envoy Extraordinary, at the Court of Berlin,

who, after having mutually exchanged their full powers, agree to the following articles:—Art. I. Agreeably to Art. II. of the treaty of Paris, already referred to, his Majesty the King of Prussia renounces for himself and heirs, all claims, pretensions and propriety over Swinaar, Huissen, and Malburg, locked within the Batavian Repub. and cedes, abandons, and gives them up for ever in full sovereignty and property to the Batavian Repub. to be possessed by her, and united with her territory.—II. The complete surrender of the ceded districts shall take place, if possible, within the term of three months, after the dispositions relating to it, and upon the ground of which the undersigned will hereafter negotiate, shall be adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the two contracting powers. By consequence there shall be appointed without delay, and reciprocally by both parties, commissioners, who will repair to the spot, in order to take these objects into consideration, and to decide upon them in the manner agreed upon —III. The two contracting powers will, like good neighbours, and agreeably to the principles of perfect equity, come to an amicable understanding respecting every thing that concerns their respective interests, not only with regard to the commercial intercourse between their contiguous dominions, and the navigation of the Rhine, but also with respect to the construction and repairs of the hydraulic works, which are connected with the common safety of their adjoining territories.—IV. The Batavian Republic takes upon it to discharge the debts of these districts; and more especially of those debts for which these districts are especially mortgaged; as likewise its quota of those debts which it is to sustain as a part of the collective debts of the Duchy of Cleves. In order, however, to obviate all the difficulties that might start up in the application of the 1st Art. it is expressly understood that there shall not be charged upon the Batavian Repub. but those debts only which arise out of those formal loans which have been contracted by the dominions of the Duchy of Cleves, or the corporations and communal bodies of the ceded districts; and finally, those debts occasioned by the expenses which have been incurred for their respective administration. The liquidation of those debts shall be settled by the commissaries of both parties, conformably to the legal and juridical proofs which shall be given in and submitted to the commissioners of the Batavian Republic.—V. All the deeds, titles, and acts, relative to the public and private property of the ceded districts, shall be faithfully given up to the commissaries of the Batavian Repub. and in the supposition that there might arise a collision of interests with the Prussian Provinces, to which these districts formerly belonged, there shall be drawn up at common expenses authentic copies, which shall likewise be deposited in the hands of the Batavian commissaries.—VI. The present Convention shall be ratified by the two parties; and the exchange of the ratifications shall take place within the term of four months, counting from this date, or sooner, if possible.—In faith of which we, the Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and of the Batavian Repub. have, in virtue of our full powers, signed the present Convention, and affixed to it our respective seal.—Done at Berlin the 14th Nov. in the year of our Lord, 1802.—*Count de Haugwitz.*—*Hultman.*

Decree of the Imperial Commission, presented at the Dietatura of the Diet at Ratisbon, dated Dec. 14, 1802.

The Principal Imperial Commissary is commanded to declare, that the Emperor has no difficulty in agreeing that the definitive conclusum of the Deputation of the Empire, though not yet ratified, should be in the mean time communicated to the Diet of the Empire, and submitted to its discussion, in order that those difficulties, which still with-hold from it the imperial sanction, and which the treaty of peace and the constitution of the Empire will not suffer us to overlook, may at last be removed, and that the final and legal termination of the affair of the indemnities, may be, in regard to all parties concerned in it, accelerated as much as possible. His Imperial Majesty is so much the more firm in his adherence to these measures, because the mediating powers have, to the propositions of indemnities, injoined others, which affect the fundamental constitution of the Empire, and are not such as the Deputation has powers to decide upon.—These objects his Imperial Majesty thinks it his duty to recommend to all the States of the Empire, being persuaded that they will be anxiously vigilant to preserve the constitutional proportions between the authority of the two religions of the Empire, as these have been fixed by different treaties of peace, and by the decisions of the Diet, with all the relations, proportions, and balances of the constitutional parts of the Empire, as one great political body, in order to give perpetuity to a constitution, the effects and the beneficent protection of which have so many ages, and amidst such variations of circumstances, given splendour, prosperity, and independence to the whole Germanic Body.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Leghorn, Dec. 15.—The Batavian fleet under Ad. De Winter, which has been cruizing on the coast of Africa, arrived here on the 9th from Cagliari in Sardinia. It will pass the winter here. It consists of three ships of the line, of 70 guns, and a galliot.

Brussels, Dec. 22.—Yesterday Gen. Berthier arrived here from Paris, and the next day continued his journey into Holland.

Hague, Dec. 28.—Government has presented to the legislative body the plan of a voluntary loan for 24,000,000 florins, for the expenses of 1803. The proposal caused a considerable depression in our funds. *Dec.* 30.—The last accounts from the Texel state, that the corvette the Ulieg had sailed with the transports having on board troops, &c. destined for Batavia and the Moluccas. Several vessels have also sailed with troops for Surinam, Demerary, and the other West India colonies.—The discontent of the merchants of Amsterdam, in consequence of the plan of finance proposed by the legislative body, manifests itself in the addresses which they are daily presenting against it.

Berne, Dec. 29.—Letters from Paris, of the 24th Dec. announce that a new sitting of the Helvetic congress was held on the 22d, at which the commissioners of the conservative senate presented *a plan of a constitution*, conformable in its principles to the contents of the letter of the First Consul to the deputies of the 18 cantons. The plan was discussed in the same sitting, and *unanimously adopted*.—The deputies of the different cantons were already assembled, in order to deliberate on

a project of cantonal organization; but in each deputation the opinions were so contradictory, that it had not been possible to unite respecting the basis of the future constitution of the principal cantons of Zurich, Berne, &c.

Basle, Dec. 27 —We expect the limits between the French Republic and Switzerland to be soon fixed. France requires the cession of a small part of the canton of Soleure, which is called Leimenthal, and comprehends the five villages of Bettwyle, Witterswyle, Hostfletten, Roderstorff and Mezerle. For this cession the canton of Soleure will be indemnified. None of these villages but is somewhat considerable. They were assessed with the war tax; but, on the knowledge that there was a design of ceding them to France, they have requested Ney to procure them to be relieved from the assessment. Ney has accordingly recommended their request to the Helvetic gov. He used in his recommendation the words—"As these communities will probably *become a part of the French Republic*, as soon as the limits of territory between France and Switzerland shall have been definitively fixed."—*Dec.* 28.—It is now looked upon as certain, that Ney has taken some official steps, in order to prevail upon the regency of Constance, and the other Austrian authorities established on the frontiers of Switzerland, to drive out of that part of the country the Swiss emigrants who still continue to recruit men, that they may be ready to return with arms in their hands on the first favourable opportunity.—The intelligence from the cantons of Lugano and Bellinzona is not satisfactory: every thing serves as a pretext for agitation.—Three battalions of French troops are expected at Berne to augment the garrison of that place.—Gen. Serras, Commandant at Lucerne, has intimated to the constituted authorities of that place, that it will be necessary to reconstruct gun boats to be stationed on the lake, each mounting four guns.

Paris, Jan. 5.—The senate adopted on the 4th inst. a *senatus consultum* presented to it on the 30th ult. in the name of the govt. The following are the principal dispositions of it:—There shall be for every tribunal of appeal, a senatorship, endowed with a house and an annual revenue of 25,000 francs. The senatorships shall be possessed for life, and the senators who shall obtain them, shall reside with the tribunal three months in the year at least. They are to be conferred by the First Consul upon a triple presentation of the senate.—There shall be applied to the senate, for its salary, four millions to be taken from the produce of the forests, and an additional million of national property in the united departments of the Rhine and of Piedmont.—The senate shall have a chancellor and a treasurer charged with the administration of its property, and of all the details of its police. A guard of honour shall be especially attached to it.

DOMESTIC.

On Tuesday, the Hound sloop of war arrived at the Motherbank, in sixteen days from Gibraltar. It brings an account of a mutiny having broken out on the 6th of Oct. on board his Majesty's ship Gibraltar, of 84 guns, on her passage from that port to Malta, in company with the Superb, Dragon, and Triumph. The mutineers took possession of the ship, and run her under the sterns of the others, cheering them in the hope that the crews would join them. Disappointed in this expectation, the mutineers became panic struck, and were easily subdued by their officers. The ring-leaders were secured, and three of them had been hanged before the Hound sailed from Gibraltar. The following mem. founded upon the minutes of the Court Martial, has been published by Admiral Bickerton.

Kent, Oristogni Bay, 4th Nov. 1802.

MEMO.—"Whereas it appears in the minutes of the late court-martial on the mutineers of the Gibraltar, that the detachment of marines, serving on board that ship, bore no part in the disgraceful proceeding of the 6th of Oct. last, but much to the credit of their officers, and themselves, maintained the character of the loyal and respectable corps to which they belong, by a steady adherence to their duty; the Rear-Admiral takes this public method of expressing his approbation of their good and soldierlike conduct, and requests Capt. Johnston to accept his thanks. *R. Bickerton.*
"To the respective captains, &c."

From the London Gazette, St. James's, Jan. 5, 1803. —His Excellency Count Woronzow, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to this court, having been absent for six months, by leave of His Imperial Majesty, and being now returned, had this day a private audience of His Majesty.—*Whitehall, Jan.* 3, 1803.—The King has been pleased to appoint the Rt. Hon. Sylvester Lord Glenbervie to the office of surveyor general of His Majesty's woods, oaks, forests, and chaces.

Bankrupts.—Turner, S. Laytonstone, farmer.—Davies, R. Lamb St. Cheesemonger.—Whitehouse, Sarah, Tamworth, mercer.—Fellows, E. Camberwell, haberdasher.—Kemp, J. Mark-lane, wine-merchant.—Neale, J. Brick-lane, salesman.—Wright, T. Horsley, clothier.—Lewis, W. Swansea, butcher.—Savage, H. and I. Broadwall, comb-makers.—Pilkington, W. Exeter, hop and seed-merchant.—Peckworth, T. Rottesford, butcher.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR.
Bank Stock.	187¼	—	—	—	186¼	186½
3 pr. C.R. An.	72	71⅛	71⅝	71⅝	71⅜	71⅝
3 per C. Con.	—	71⅝	71⅛	71⅛	71⅛	71
4 pr. C. Con.	87½	87⅝	89¼	86⅝	86⅞	86⅞
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	101⅜	101¼	101¼	102	99⅛	100⅛
Bank L. Ann.	20 7/16	20¾	20⅝	20⅜	20¼	20½
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	102⅝	100¼	102⅛	102	102⅜	102¼
Omnium ...	3½ dis	4 dis	4 dis	4 dis	3¼ dis	4 dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F.	35	10	2 us.	LEGHORN	49¾
D°, at sight	35	5		NAPLES.....	41¼
ROTTERDAM	35	11	2 us.	GENOA	45¼
HAMBURGH	34	2	2 us.	VENICE, 52 livres piccole effective per £. ster.	
ALTONA....	34	3	2 us.		
PARIS 1 day	24	8		LISBON	67½
PARIS.....	24	12	2 us.	OPORTO	67¼
BOURDEAUX,	24	13		DUBLIN	12¾
CADIZ ...	53¼		eff.	BILBOA	35¼
MADRID ..	35½		effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	52s. to 60s	Hops per cwt.	200s to 220s
Rye.....	35 .. 38	Hay per load....	80 .. 147
Barley.....	23 .. 27	Beef, per stone	4s. to 6s.
Malt.....	40 .. 45	Mutton	5s. 4d. to 6s 6d.
Oats.....	15 .. 22	Veal	6s. 0d. to 8s. 0d.
Pease (white)....	30 .. 38	Pork....	4s. 8d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	33 .. 37	Tallow	4s. 6½d.
Flour per sack ..	44 .. 48	Av. of Sugar pr cw	36s. 9d.
Seconds.....	40 .. 44	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 10d.
Coals per chal....	53 .. 00	Bread	9¼d the Quar. Loaf.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

A great portion of our space, under this head, was last week occupied by observations on the false, insolent, and hostile language of the French official paper; and, we think it our duty to commence our present remarks on the continuation which we find of that language, in the same infamous vehicle. The article to which we last called the attention of the Public, and which will be found at length in p. 6 of the present volume, was dated on the 1st of January: it was a new-year's gift for the Richmond-Park Ministry; some of whom have, it is thought, no very great objection to civilities of that sort. What we are now about to hold up to the indignation of our readers appeared in the Moniteur of the 2d of January. It is intended to keep up the suspicion already excited against England in many parts of the continent, to bar, as soon as possible, every port and avenue against our commercial and diplomatic agents, and to hint *(faire sentir)* to the different powers, that to receive, to entertain, to harbour, or to shelter such agents, is the ready way to incur the dreadful displeasure, and the consequent vengeance, of the mighty, the vindictive, the rapacious, and bloody republic. The passage alluded to runs thus:—

"There are commercial houses at Franck-
"fort, Nuremberg, and Hamburgh, which
"have long been the channels through
"which all the crimes that were excited
"upon the continent were paid for. If it
"were true that *the faction hostile to the repose*
"*of Europe* would continue *to sacrifice the trea-*
"*sures of that brave people, illustrious in so many*
"*respects*, and to second the views of Du-
"thiel, Dandre, the Bishop of Arras, Gren-
"ville, &c. we advise them to make use
"of more circumspection, and the magis-
"trates of those cities to be careful; for all
"countries, and commercial towns chiefly,
"*which gave refuge to the agents of that faction*,
"because their magazines are beyond
"the seas, and which introduce into this
"contest money and not blood, ought to
"feel by experience that *war carries with it*
"*disasters*, of which their weakness may
"render them *more the victims than others*.
"Cities, whose existence is connected with
"commerce, are therefore more interested
"than any one that the peace, so happily
"established, should be of long duration.
"—Several journals have published from
"the Moniteur, that M. Fingerlin had
"been the banker of the miserable Dandre,
"and the *atrocious* Wickham."—The words in French are, *l'atroce Wickham*. Had we time, it would be quite unnecessary to dwell at any considerable length on this at once artful and insolent passage. Its chief object is, so to terrify the commercial cities and towns upon the continent, that no person suspected even of being an English agent, shall find rest for the sole of his foot. The flattery to the *people* of this country is also gross enough; but we are not amongst those who feel, or who affect to feel so very confident, that this flattery is "thrown "away upon our enlightened countrymen." We are, on the contrary, very much afraid that it is sown in a genial soil. After the rejoicings at the peace of Amiens, after the anxiety for peace, which we daily and hourly observe, in almost all ranks of this humbled and degraded people, we cannot so far deceive ourselves, we cannot attempt so shamefully to impose upon the world, as to affect to believe that the good opinion, the friendship, and favour of Buonaparté, is not, in this kingdom, sought after with the greatest possible eagerness. Nay, truth and sincerity bid us go further, and declare, that we dread the effect of these attempts to divide the people from their government; for, if they continue in the degraded state of mind produced by the peace, and by the arguments and maxims on which that destructive measure was defended, why should *they* "ex-
"haust their veins and their treasure," merely for the sake of living under one government in preference to another? If, to obtain peace, it was right to abandon the interest and honour of their country; if they have been taught to sacrifice to this object all that themselves or their forefathers held dear, where shall we look for a reason whereon to justify the resumption of their arms?—The great point, however, in the present extract from the Moniteur, is, that its attack is clearly directed against the present ministers. The name of *Grenville* is indeed mentioned; but, as it is absolutely impossible to conceive, that treasure, and particularly "the treasure of that brave "*people*," (the English) could be sent to the continent by any persons except the ministry; it follows of course, that, according to the French official journal, the ministry are now become "the faction hostile to the "repose of Europe;" a conclusion which becomes undeniable, when we consider that Mr. Wickham, who is here surnamed the "*atrocious*," has been made a Privy Counsellor by this very ministry, and is at this moment a Secretary of State. "*L'atroce* "Wickham!" The *atrocious* Right Honourable William Wickham! This is not, per-

haps, quite so infamous as asserting, that His Majesty stood ready to bestow the order of the Garter upon a successful assassin; but, it is too infamous to pass unnoticed by government, especially when the prosecution of M. Peltier is considered. Deboffe, the vender of Peltier's Journal, was at first joined in the prosecution, for retailing a joke upon Buonaparté and his wife; but, from the very same shop, he boldly utters the Moniteur, with all its libels on our country, our parliament, and our King. The conduct of Deboffe, who, we are informed, is an excessively timid mortal, is a complete epitome of that of the governments of Spain, Batavia, England, &c. &c. He rejects with horror, we are told, any work that contains the most distant insinuation against Buonaparté; but he never takes the pains even to look at the libels which he circulates *from the Paris press*. Deboffe is right: he knows that when Buonaparté tolerates, the bookseller is safe: he well knows, that were he ten thousand times as timid and feeble as he is, no one would dare to touch him for publishing the French official gazette. We have mentioned the conduct of this obscure person, as an instance of the all-searching and all-pervading power of Buonaparté. Poor Deboffe, though the light of the sun scarcely ever reaches his abode, has felt the influence of the Consul: he has heard of Lundberg the Swede, of Napper Tandy, of Captain D'Auvergne, and of M. Peltier: he perceives, he knows; without any calculation or reasoning upon the matter, he feels, that as the publisher of Buonaparté's official gazette, no one dares to touch a hair of his head; and, were the infamous Moniteur to style our Sovereign an assassin, instead of a rewarder of assassins, as it already has done, it would be sold with as little dread as if it were the Book of Common Prayer. The House of Commons before the last discovered that a writer had, by a rhetorical figure, compared it to a branch, which might be cut off, without killing the trunk. The context rendered this figure perfectly inoffensive; a court of justice afterwards, by a solemn decision, declared it to be so; yet did this slip of the pen keep the legislature in a flame for several days: it was proposed to burn the book by the hands of the common hangman, and to drag the author, on his knees, to the bar of the House! What then, shall be done to the vender of the Moniteur, which has dictated laws to the present House of Commons, has directly attempted to restrain the freedom of speech in that assembly, and has distinctly proposed a project for the expulsion of such members as will not hold their tongues on certain subjects, offensive to France and her allies? What will this patriotic and spirited assembly do to the promulgators of "so outrageous, "so sacrilegious an attack on the constitu-"tion?" * What are become of all the high notions of Messrs. Sheridan, Wilberforce, Grey, and Fox? Will they, can they silently suffer a hundred thousand copies of this infamous libel on the House of Commons to be circulated? ..... Complain no longer, Reeves; your cause is amply avenged!

On the continent there are other great projects in contemplation.—Buonaparté's *projet du jour* is, we understand, to unite to France all that part of the Batavian Republic which lies on the left bank of the Rhine. This is the true reason why the French head-quarters have been fixed at Breda. While this bargain is going on between the Consul and the Batavians, it is supposed he will traffic for the rest, on the right bank of the Rhine, with the King of Prussia, whom, in obedience to the *livre des destins*, we are, it seems, to believe to be the *grandson* of the great Frederick, notwithstanding that monarch had *no child* †. For the execution of the projects, Buonaparté waits, we believe, only for the adhesion of Russia; and fearing that the friends of that power may, sooner or later, succeed in dissolving the spell by which it is at present blinded and misled, he is hastening, whilst his influence remains unimpaired in that quarter, to the execution of those projects, which he would otherwise have, for

* It must be observed, that, while *all* the English papers re-publish the libellous articles in the Moniteur, only part of them speak of those articles as false, scandalous, and libellous. The True Briton, for instance, has re-published, and, of course, circulated, several of them, unaccompanied by a single word by way of exposure, or in disapprobation. "*L'atroce Wickham*" was circulated without any comment. This is really beyond what one could have conceived possible. It might be natural for the demi-official gazette of "the *modest* and *candid* ministry" to quote from the Moniteur a libel on Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, and to observe thereon that "it was *just enough*;" but, that it should circulate libels on the ministers themselves was a degree of baseness not to be expected. The fact is, it must have the libel as being an article of news, and it dares not treat it as a libel for fear of offending Buonaparté!

† On this subject the *Courier de Londres* has the following remark:—"*Le Roi de Prusse, petit-fils de "Frédéric II! Voilà un grand trait d'ignorance de la "part du précepteur-général des nations. Mais il est "permis à un petit bourgeois d'Ajacio de ne pas connoître "parfaitement les Maisons Royales de l'Europe.*"

a little while, postponed. What the Dutch are to have in exchange for the territory Buonaparté is about to receive from them, we know not; but we should not be surprised if Prussia were to receive another slice of our Sovereign's hereditary dominions. When the Dutch first settled in North America, and began their traffic with the Indians, they persuaded those ignorant creatures, that, for want of weights to weigh their furs with, a Dutchman's hand and foot might be used instead, the former weighing ten pounds and the latter twenty. What sort of bargains the poor Indians drove with them it is easy to imagine: and, Buonaparté really seems to be destined to punish, by a proceeding somewhat similar, the shameful and cruel imposition.—The Moniteur is continually inculcating the necessity of *weakening* still more the House of Austria, in order to provide more abundant security for the tranquillity of Europe; that is to say, the necessity of destroying Austria; and, our readers may be assured, that its destruction is resolved on. It is already talked of, on the Continent, that the final plan is, to confine the Emperor to his Ducal dominions, and it is confidently believed by some, that this is a part of the grand project of dividing Turkey between France and Russia, and of *indemnifying* Prussia at the expense of Austria. To this project, which is by no means so romantic as some may imagine, the presidentship of Italy, the union of Piedmont, the subjugation of Switzerland, the partition of Germany, and the present measures with regard to Holland, are all looked upon as preparatory steps.—And is the illustrious House of Austria to fall! History may say, that the "perfidious "minister" (as the infamous Moniteur styles Baron Thugut) was most lamely seconded, not to say most shamefully deserted, in his endeavours to resist the arms and influence of France; but, the same history, if it be not as partial and as false as the Moniteur, will say, that the *wise*, the *prudent*, the *safe*, Count Cobenzel and his colleagues, whom Buonaparté, at times, honours, as he does our ministers, with his approbation, have, by their *conciliating* system, that is to say, by crouching at the feet of the Consul, accelerated the ruin of their Sovereign and their country.

Again people ask, *whether England is to have peace or war?* To which we answer, *peace*; if this state of things can be called peace; if, with an army of 130,000, and a fleet of 50,000 men, and with Omnium fluctuating between four and eleven per cent. below par; if this can be called peace, peace we shall have, until Buonaparté has obtained (for obtain it he will) the complete fulfilment, on our part, of the treaty of Amiens, and until he is ready to invade India, Jamaica, or Ireland; till then we shall *enjoy* our present sort of repose, but not one moment longer.

We, some time ago, (Vol. II. p. 704) noticed the arrival of a troop of French *commercial agents*, whom our government had refused to receive as such, but who had been sent over by Buonaparté, *in spite of that refusal*. These persons were then just arrived in London, whence they have since been distributed amongst our different seaports; and, we are well assured, that the *commercial* agent at Hull is a *colonel of engineers!* That others of his commercial comrades are of the same, or of a similar description, no one can doubt. But, this is nothing with the "*prudent* ministers who "govern Great Britain!" This is nothing with your "*safe* politicians," who, with that puritanical *sang froid*, that modest assurance, for which they are so renowned, will tell you, that there is no danger from these men, because they are, like all other foreigners, *liable to the operation of the alien law*; when they well know, that, be the conduct of these persons what it may, they no more dare to send them out of the country than they dare to demand satisfaction for the ill-treatment of Capt. d'Auvergne, or for the infamous libels against our King, contained in the French official gazette. "We, too, have an alien law," said Lord Castlereagh. Yes, my Lord, and so we had when *Lundberg* landed in the country and proceeded to London, not only in despite, but in contempt of that law. Yes, my Lord, the alien law may operate in *favor* of France, but it never will operate *against* her, while its execution depends upon you and your colleagues.

It is with great pleasure, that we perceive, as well from a notice given in the House of Commons, previous to the recess, as from other indications of the minds of those who are capable to do it, that the veil of popularity is likely soon to be torn from the scenes which are passing at the Admiralty. We are only fearful, that this salutary work may be performed when it is too late. Our navy, which many regard as the last remaining prop of our security, so far from being in the state described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so far is the Admiralty from being able, upon a sudden emergency, to send to sea *forty* additional ships

of the line, in the space of *a month*, so far from being capable of verifying this Munchausen-like statement, we believe that, were it to defend the country even against an invasion, they would not, in the above-mentioned space of time, be able to send to sea *five* additional ships of the line. The fact is, that the whole of this mighty machine is at a stand, and is falling, as fast as possible, into irretrievable ruin. The wild and furious measures of the Admiralty, in their domiciliary visits to the dock-yards, have driven away all the shipwrights, caulkers, and other artificers, skilled in their business; and, so far from any saving arising from these measures, so far from a saving of *three millions*, as the demi-official paper has asserted, expenses have been incurred beyond all former example. * In contemplating the military department of the navy, no less serious apprehensions arise. That sort of conduct which Lord St. Vincent practised towards Sir John Orde, and which he has, unfortunately, now an opportunity of extending to the whole of the officers of the navy, has so disgusted every officer of rank, of spirit, and of merit, that no one of that description can be found to make a tender of his service. Hence the various stations remain unrelieved, and the crews, who have served all the war, are to their great disappointment and discontent, compelled to remain abroad, without even the prospect of relief. Without due respect being paid to officers of *every* rank; without a most tender regard to their honourable feelings, it is in vain to expect subordination amongst their inferiors. When we look back at Lord St. Vincent as the commander of a fleet, we cannot but be astonished at the too evident change in his way of thinking. Those powers, which he enjoyed, those very powers which he deemed absolutely necessary to the existence of discipline, are now cut off from the officers of the navy, whose situations are rendered intolerable by the manifold neglects and insults they experience from men, one of whom, if we are not mistaken, the First Lord himself has heretofore publickly declared (with what justice he best knows) not fit to be trusted with the command of a single ship! The persons alluded to are, in whatever light we view them, totally unfit for the office they are in. Their elevation has tended to the decline, and, we greatly fear, that, in co-operation with other measures, it will end in the ruin of the British navy. We take this opinion from no individual: we have heard much on the subject, and, we are fully persuaded, that, if the sentiments of every officer in the navy could be collected, there would not be found above *three* whose voices would not confirm our opinion. The hyperbolical compliments, bestowed on Lord St. Vincent by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, must, by every one who is acquainted with the present situation of things, be regarded as nothing more than a veil for his hatred and fear of him. Mr. Addington must know, that war, or that subjugation, is at no great distance; but every day of delay, is a day of shelter to him and his colleagues. When war comes (if it ever *can* come) their ignorance, improvidence, and imbecillity, must be exposed: then, instead of finding a navy, ready not only to defend us from invaders, but again to bear the thunder of Britain to every corner of the globe; instead of finding a navy like this, we shall find a huge skeleton of a navy, and nothing more. On some future occasion it may be necessary for us to show, that our dock-yards have not only been deprived of those sinews of war, which the late upright and provident Board of Admiralty had collected, but that they have been (probably by way of "drawing closer the bonds of peace and amity") made the means *of supplying the arsenals of France!*—In a word, the whole system of the Admiralty is such as demands the serious attention of the parlia-

* On this subject we beg leave to refer our readers to an excellent article, p. 37, of this sheet, to the statements of which we will here add a more full and authentic account than we before possessed respecting the ship MARS.—This ship, having been taken into dock to repair, she was surveyed, and a report made to the navy board of her defects. The estimate of repairs amounted to £11,000. The work was ordered to be done. It was done, and she was turned out, as fit for service; but when she arrived at the Jetty Head, she was found to be in so imperfect a state, that she was obliged to be re-surveyed, and, in consequence thereof, she was ordered into dock again. Another estimate was made, and, it appeared, that £9,000 was still wanting to put her into repair, *after Mr. Tucker had turned her out as* COMPLETE! Lord St. Vincent *saw* the whole of these transactions.—It is worth remarking, that the commissioners, appointed to enquire into the abuses of the navy, have nominated as their secretary a MR. WILLIAMS, a very young man, who was, about two months ago, promoted from being a junior clerk in the navy office, to be clerk to the rope yard at Woolwich, by the interest of Mr. Tucker, which Mr. Tucker, the late secretary of Lord St. Vincent, was, not long ago, a *purser* of a man of war, and is now a *Commissioner of the Navy*. As Mr. Williams was totally unknown to any of the five commissioners, his appointment shows what influence the First Lord may have in the commission, of which it is now pretty well known, that he *intended* to be at the head, with Mr. Tucker for a secretary! What are public services of Mr. Tucker the public has yet to learn.

ment and the people. It is a system, which we regard as radically vicious, and, we trust, it will instantly be changed.

In our second vol. p. 732, we noticed the answer, which was given by Mr. Addington, relative to the right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras; a right which, it was then *reported*, the Spaniards were, at the instigation of France, about to eject us from, in virtue of the non-renewal of former treaties, in the treaty of Amiens. What we then argued upon as a report, is now, we have good reason to think, authentically confirmed. We shall, however, postpone the animadversions, which such a fact is calculated to extort, until we have more full and certain information on the subject.—The prohibition to cut *logwood*, joined to that which France has imposed on Spain respecting *wool*, may be reckoned amongst the first, though, perhaps, not the least of those "blessings," which the peace has already brought upon the trade of the country. All in good time, however! The blows will fall thicker and heavier as the machine becomes mounted.—In the mean time, we cannot refrain from again reminding our readers of what was said, on the subject of Honduras, during the discussions relative to the treaty of Amiens, beginning with an extract from one of Mr. Cobbett's letters to Lord Hawkesbury.—"The right of cutting dying woods "and mahogany in the Bay of Honduras, "rests, like the rights before mentioned, "solely upon positive and special convention "between our Sovereign and the king of "Spain. We have no claim on, nor have "we ever preferred any pretension to, the "sovereignty of the lands, on which this "right has hitherto been exercised. In "former treaties, as in that of 1763, for instance, we obtained a renewal of the permission, in rather loose and general terms, "to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras. "This permission was again renewed at the "peace of 1783; but Mr. Pitt, sensible of "the importance of the privilege, wished to "secure its enjoyment by stipulations more "specific and solemn, which he obtained "in the convention signed at London, in "1787. This convention, together with "the former stipulations on the subject, "were abrogated by the war; and, as a "renewal of them has not been obtained at "the peace, the right to cut logwood and "mahogany may, of course, be numbered "amongst those encumbrances, of which a "happy riddance has been procured by the "treaty of Amiens. How long the Spaniards, acting under the mandates of "France, will suffer us to trade to Honduras I cannot say. It is possible that "they might find some amusement in tantalizing us with hopes of forbearance; in "regarding us as tenants at will, continually "liable to ejectment. But, when they "reflect on the cession of Trinidad, which "we have so honestly and so honourably "obtained, they cannot but seize with eagerness every opportunity to injure our "interests, and to mortify our pride. The "enjoyment of the logwood trade will, "therefore, be of short duration, and I shall "be much disappointed, if our wood cutters "are not very soon ejected, and that too "with all those injuries and all those marks "of contempt, which the subjects of Britain must now expect to meet with from "every nation in the world, however base "its disposition, or however feeble its "power." (*Register, Vol. I. p.* 499.)—Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Elliot, repeatedly warned the parliament that the consequences of the omission to renew former treaties would inevitably be the loss of every thing, which we held solely by those treaties; and, amongst other objects, they particularly mentioned the right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras. What said the ministers in reply? They denied the position generally; they denied, that war abrogated treaties, and they boldly declared, that the right of cutting logwood was not affected by the non-renewal of the convention of 1787. The Lord Chancellor, in answer to Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, on the 4th of May, 1802, said, that, "if, by the omission to mention former treaties, *they were* "*all to be considered as abrogated*, he had no "difficulty in saying, that an address ought "to be voted to His Majesty, praying that "he would dismiss his present ministers "from his councils for ever. But, he trusted, that *the fact was far otherwise*, and that "the conduct of ministers deserved no such "censure."—Lord Hawkesbury said, on the same subject, that "the right to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras was ceded "to us in 1787; that it was a settlement "which we *possessed of right*, and to which "the Spaniards were as much bound to "refer as we: this was, he said, in truth, "*no omission at all*." (Speech, 13th May, 1802)—The Master of the Rolls, in the same debate, said, that "our right to cut "logwood, &c. in the Bay of Honduras, was "*a right of possession*, preserved throughout "the war, and *not annulled by the peace*."

(Speech, 14th May, 1802.)—These, the Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls, at least, are high authorities; and, even the opinion of Lord Hawkesbury is entitled to some respect, when we remember, that the whole of his speech was fully and unequivocally approved of by Mr. Pitt. Now, then, we have only to see whether the men who defended the peace upon arguments like these, will defend these arguments against the mandates and the arms of Spain; or, whether they will yield the point, and with it a right, the enjoyment of which has long been, and is now more than ever, essentially connected with the prosperity of several very material branches of our manufactures.

We shall close our present summary with a few words on *finance*, not having room for a tenth part of an article which we had prepared upon the subject, and which we shall not fail to give at length in our next. In the demi-official paper of the 12th instant, the ministers, who, as the reader must, long ago, have observed, are not the wisest of mankind, have published the following account of the "*growing* state of the revenue," as Mr. Addington was pleased to phrase it: —"We are *happy* to be able to state, for "the *satisfaction* of the Public, that the sur- "plus of the consolidated fund, ending "the 5th of January 1803, amounted to "1,248,032l.; being an excess of 399,329l. "in the three quarters, beyond the 4,500,000l "which was calculated as the amount of "the surplus of the consolidated fund for "the whole year, ending the 5th of "April 1803."—Now, we will not say, that Mr. Addington is not *happy* at being able to make this statement; for we most sincerely believe, that he is totally incapable of perceiving the result to which it leads. With others, however, we are inclined to think, that no *satisfaction* will be felt, except where there already exists a strong desire to see the decline and ruin of our commerce and finances. Full of doubts as we were with respect to the sanguine statements contained in the Budget-speech of the minister, our anxiety to see them verified did, in some measure, banish that distrust which we ought to have entertained of any and of every thing coming from such a quarter, under similar circumstances. If, however, we have participated in the deception of the country, we have not been amongst the last to perceive, and shall not be the last to expose, that deception. Taking the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon his own information and assertions, as to the past, experience has already proved, that, *as to the future*, as to the source on which he has bidden the nation to rely for credit and security, there is a fearful falling off. In short, the *consolatory* account now published completely blows up the minister's system, and convinces us, that, to maintain expenses equal to the present, *new taxes* must, next year, be laid on to an almost unbearable amount, or the government must again have recourse to *loans*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

TYRO on the surrender of Malta shall appear in our next.

DETECTOR will, we hope, accept of our apology for delaying so long the insertion of his most valuable article.—We shall hope for a continuance of his favours, which cannot fail to produce a good effect.

T. F. on the Post-Office Grant is received. The writer has our best thanks. When we have time to arrange all the materials, which we have collected on that subject, we will take the liberty, with T. F.'s permission, to submit them to him. So many objects crowd upon us, that some of them must of necessity be retarded in their progress to the press; but, if we have life and health, for a few weeks longer, we will, unless the abuses we complain of are remedied, place Mr. Freeling in a situation to be envied by no human being, except, perhaps, the renowned Serjeant Sinclair.

LOOKER-ON's remarks on the probable causes of the recent mutinies are unavoidably postponed 'till our next.

*** From a desire to furnish our Readers, as soon as possible, with a correct translation of *L'Empire Germanique*, (the work which has given such alarm to Buonaparté, and which we mentioned so much at length in our last week's Summary), we have resolved to keep back our Supplement ten days longer.

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